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*des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales*. There can be no objection, of course, to using material which the author has previously worked over, but the periods covered by the other portions of the work have so obviously been treated so much less thoroughly that the contrast is more striking than it ought to be. In the third place, the author still clings too closely to politics as the exclusive interest of history. This cannot be entirely because the materials for the other phases of Chinese history are not readily accessible, for many of these are now to be found in European languages. As an approach to a connected narrative of the development of Chinese civilization, the work is a vast improvement over its predecessors, but history is apparently still conceived of as past politics, and other phases of life as relatively less important to the historian and somewhat apart from his main task. One looks in vain for even a reasonably adequate treatment of the development of literature, philosophy, religion, economic life, social structure, and even of political institutions. The ideal history of China must appreciate the intimate interrelation of all of these, something which it is even now, with our imperfect study of the sources, possible to show more fully than M. Cordier has done.

These criticisms must not be allowed to obscure the fact, however, that as a longer history these four volumes are superior to anything that we now have, and are a real contribution both to the student and the general reader. We will look forward eagerly to the time when some scholar, either a European, an American, or a Japanese, who can use both the Chinese and European languages, or some Chinese who has been trained in modern historical methods and knows what has been done in the Occident on things Chinese, will write us a really satisfactory history. In the meantime M. Cordier's book will largely supersede its predecessors and will prove of substantial value.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende*. Par HENRY VIGNAUD.  
(Paris: Auguste Picard. 1921. Pp. 230. 6 fr.)

SINCE about the middle of the sixteenth century the biographers and historians of Christopher Columbus, in treating of his first voyage of discovery, have represented him as impelled by the desire to find a new way to India or the Orient. About twenty years ago, Henry Vignaud, together with La Rosa, raised the question whether this view of Columbus was historically correct. In 1905 Vignaud published his *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (1 vol. octavo), and in 1911, his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb: comment il aurait conçu et formé son Projet, sa Présentation à différentes Cours, son Acceptation finale, sa Mise à Exécution, son Vritable Caractère* (2 vols. octavo).

These publications were not widely read, and left their readers generally unconvinced. So far as this result was due to bulky form and elaborate exposition, it is counteracted by the present compendium, which, if one may judge from its preface, was completed in 1916. It will doubtless draw attention to the larger volumes and win new readers for them, but that it will carry more conviction is hardly to be expected. It contains in condensed form the defects of the *Études* and the *Histoire*, and so constantly refers to these works that it can hardly be read or reviewed without their being included in the process. Be it then recognized that they constitute, in spite of defects, a most useful compilation of sources and references. They show that the motive of Columbus on his first voyage was largely cupidity and ambition and that religious zeal or scientific interest made but a small, if any, part of it. They have shaken or shattered some of the arguments for the traditional belief in the search for a new route to the East; and in a few minds, have totally destroyed it. But this effect, even supposing it to be general, only clears the stage for the author to prove what is the truth. So far from his doing this, he seems to show that neither he nor any one else is equal to the task.

It may be doubted whether the *True Columbus* will justify itself even as a convenience. One may find it easier to read the *Histoire* or selections of it, than the compendium together with a good part of the *Histoire*, jumping back and forth from one to the other.

The reason of the general rejection or non-acceptance of the author's thesis is not to be found in the proportions or literary features of his earlier publications, nor in the mental attitude of their readers, but in traits of the author's mind which appear in his writings as inconsistencies, misinterpretations, and fallacies.

In his *True Columbus* he begins by stating his position or thesis, the gist of which may be expressed as follows:— The discovery of America was not made by trying to reach the East Indies by a westward route, but was the logical, inevitable, anticipated, consequence of an expedition organized expressly to find the particular land which afterwards received the name of America (p. 2). What land does he refer to, which of the lands to which the name of America has been successively applied, from a part of South America to the whole Western Hemisphere? Here a map on which the territory in question should stand out seems necessary to clear and satisfactory apprehension, but there is none. It is a serious defect of these works that none of them is provided with a map. As one follows the author through the *True Columbus* one becomes more and more confused as to what he is trying to prove. Now he says that the object was to discover new "lands or islands". He does not say where any of them were, or orient them with respect to America, but insists that Columbus had located them or believed that he had, and that none of them was in Asia or in Asiatic waters.

He asserts that Columbus agreed with Pinzon to include among his discoveries "Pinzon's island of Cypangu" (p. 93), which for the present

he does not locate outside of Pinzon's mind. A few lines further on he recognizes an island of Cypangu as in Asia, but not as Pinzon's, and denies that Columbus had any thought of going to it. He says that all that Columbus was aiming at was the island of Antilia, which he believed to be "not at too great a distance from the Canaries and the Azores" (pp. 94, 95). Next, he represents the objective as the double one of Pinzon's Cypangu and Antilia (pp. 100, 101), and depicts Antilia as the Antilles, or the present archipelago of the West Indies (p. 123). Hereupon he tells us that all this time Columbus was apparently not thinking of Pinzon's Cypangu (p. 132), that Antilia was Haiti, and that Haiti was what Pinzon thought of as Cypangu (p. 134).

In the *Historie* of Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand is a somewhat obscure passage which may be freely translated as follows:

*I say that as one thing depends on another and the one brings the other to mind*, being in Portugal, he began to consider whether, as the Portuguese were making their way so far southward, one might likewise make one's way westward, and reasonably expect to find land on that route.

Here Ferdinand implies that his father was reasoning by analogy. Omitting this (the italics), our author quotes the passage as referring only to extra-Asiatic territories and so corroborating his thesis, that Columbus was looking only to what is now the Atlantic Ocean for his discoveries (p. 54; *Histoire*, I. 42 n.). What is the analogy between proceeding from one discovery to another along the coast of Africa and looking for new lands out in an unexplored ocean? Considering that Columbus was reasoning by analogy, that his thoughts and words have come to us, not directly from him, but through several persons and at least two languages, is it not probable or possible that he was thinking of doing along another continent what the Portuguese were doing along the African, and if so, why was not Asia, the Asia of his Ptolemy, that other continent? According to the author, Columbus possessed a copy of the Ptolemy Geography of 1475 (*Histoire*, I. 331). This work represents eastern Asia as extending indefinitely or an unknown distance toward the south.

Our author says that Columbus expressly identified the present island of Haiti with the Cypangu of Pinzon, and for authority refers to two documents, the "Majorat" or Entail of Columbus's estates, February 22, 1498, and a marginal note in a copy of Pliny, which he attributes to Columbus (pp. 133, 134). In the Entail the only reference to this island is the following sentence: "And it pleased our Lord Almighty that . . . I should discover . . . many islands, among which is Española, which the natives call 'Feiti' and which the Monicondos [call] 'Zipango' (*Raccolta di Docum.*, part I., vol. I., p. 304). In other versions of this text the word *Monicondo* reads *Monicongo*, which seems to mean a little man of little sense, a monkey. Did Columbus consider himself a Moni-

condo, whatever that may be? Was this island called Zipango by any intelligent person, and how did calling it Zipango identify it with anything?

The marginal note reads ". . . the island of feiti or ofir, or cipango, to which I have given the name Spagnola" (*Raccolta*, pt. I., vol. III., tav. CI.). It does not identify the Cypangu of Pinzon with the island of Haiti. But admitting that it does, it remains for the author to prove that this mental process, apparently peculiar to Monicondos, took place in the mind of Columbus. The marginal notes (*Postilles*), said to be in the handwriting of Columbus, do not receive the attention which they seem to deserve. In the Alphabetical Table of Contents (*Histoire*, II. 649), the reader is referred to the subject-title *Postille*, but we find no such title. What is said on this subject is scattered and hard to find.

As material for his work, there is nothing that combines authenticity with information in as high a degree as the Letters Patent of April 30, 1492, about three months before the sailing of the first expedition. In this paper the Spanish sovereigns jointly assert: "considering that you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our order to discover and appropriate [*descubrir é ganar*] . . . certain islands [*islas*] and continental territory [*terra firme*] in the said Ocean-sea [*mar Oceano*]", etc. Commenting on this and other similar expressions, the author says, "les souverains n'entendaient récompenser que les découvertes relatives à des îles ou terres nouvelles. . . ." He renders "*terra firme*" as "lands", and seems to regard it as synonymous with "*islas*". Obviously it is used in contradistinction from it, with the meaning already indicated, of continental territory, or mainland. It may refer to some other continent than that of Asia, but why should it not refer also to Asia? Why must "islands" and "continental territory" mean "non-Asiatic islands" and "non-Asiatic continental territory"?

The *Histoire* has no index and this deficiency is not supplied by the alphabetical table of contents. It has a list of eight errata to which about three times that many might be added. Among the errata in the *True Columbus* are the following: "58" (p. 38 n.) and "59" (pp. 46 n. and 59 n.) should read "sq"; "*Étude*" (p. 186 n.) should read *Histoire*; "1492" (p. 112 n.) should read "1492, vol. I."; "p. 506" (p. 187 n.) should read "vol. II., p. 586." On page 110, 6th line, the words "plus tard" should apparently be transposed with the words "comme Colomb l'assura".

JOHN BIGELOW.

*The Spanish Borderlands: a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest.* By HERBERT E. BOLTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 320.)

THE real theme of this pleasantly and popularly written book is the part played by Spain in the opening up, to the ken of civilized man, of